/96 cont./

755 the hekurá, and best of all at night by moonlight (496). All

[MH] [M6]

496. The hekurá are the intermediaries between human beings and the united Supreme Being Poré/Perimbó (see pp. 199 ff.).

day long, usually one or two or sometimes even several men make preliminary attempts at healing. For all sicknesses there are very definite texts, melodies, and dance steps, which are taught the young men by their chief during a two-months' training course (see pp. 143/145). If the patient dies despite all efforts, the people yield to a certain fatalism, for in that case the power of the hostile medicine man was simply stronger (497).

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497. The same thing is reported by Koch-Grünberg about the Arekuná-Taulipang (Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 202), Richard Schomburgk about the Warrau (Richard Schomburgk, 1847, p. 172), and Barrère as well as Quandt about the Galibi and Arowaken (Barrère, 1743, pp. 216/17; Quandt, 1807, p. 260), to mention only a few parallels.

755 For the reasons mentioned, there is only suggestive therapy,
● 757 supplemented by fasting and treatment with cold water. In the latter case a patient, even with the highest fever, must drink a great deal of water and take frequent baths in the nearby river or brook. He is also often exposed to pouring /97/ rain (Ill. 49), since it is assumed that it has healing powers because it comes from the rain tree of the moon (see p. 199). Sick persons who are already too weak and are unable to leave their hammocks are doused with cold water at regular intervals (498).

[171]

498. Treatment with cold water is widespread in South America. For comparison

Surára
Pakidái

/97 cont./

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498. (cont.)
I should like to mention the Kaskihá Indians in the northeastern Chaco, among whom the witch doctor tries to heal the sick in the same way (Baldus, 1931, p. 143).

164 During my nine-months' stay among the Surára and Pakidái the following sicknesses occurred there: grippe, pneumonia, malaria, chicken pox, and a gastric fever; fortunately, none ooo was fatal (499). But the two Surára women who had pneumonia,

[165]
[752]

499. Only the Pakidái youth Hokotômarimâ died after a fall from a pupunha palm, which probably caused internal injuries (see p. 149).

123 But the two Surára women who had pneumonia,
755 first a young woman, Xunamí, the wife of Kurikayawõ, the
759 younger brother of the chief, and later an older woman, Xanimá,
177 the approximately 47-year-old mother of Anyarawõ (see pp. 123/125), and a boy, Xaniwõ (see p. 127), about 12 years old, would probably not have survived without the penicillin that I had brought along, for, in spite of untiring treatment by the chief and his helpers, their condition grew worse from day to day. In the first instance, the chief, Hewemão, and the husband, Kurikayawõ, finally permitted me to give Xunamí a penicillin injection in the upper arm on two successive days, whereupon she improved dramatically (500). In the second and third cases,

500. This cure increased my reputation tremendously, so that afterward I was properly adopted into the tribe of the Surára and, on the occasion of the great festival in memory of the dead, was also permitted to drink the banana soup mixed with the bone ashes of deceased relatives (see p. 231). If the woman had died after the injection, however, the intervention could have had grave consequences for me.

/97 cont./

[755] [959] [123] [179] the chief even asked me to give the patients "penicilina" after his healing efforts had again brought no success.

Of the various cures at which I was allowed to be present, I should like to describe in detail the following two treatments:

b) Magic cure (rekurá) for Xunamí:

Xunamí, the young, pretty wife of Kurikayawõ, fell ill quite suddenly. She had a high fever, lay apathetically in her hammock, and complained of severe chest pains. Her husband, [593] [759] who, with touching devotion, remained with her throughout the first day, that is, he sat beside her or lay in his hammock, led her several times to the nearby small river, in which she always remained for some time and drank copious amounts. She was not permitted to eat anything, but she had no desire to do so. During the night, the fever seemed to climb, for she was quite delirious and unable to sleep soundly. The next day she felt [759] even worse. Three times in the forenoon and as often in the afternoon her husband took her to the river, but there was no improvement after the baths and the drinking. At noon on the third day the husband, together with two other men, began [302] the first special cure. First of all, Kurikayawõ and the second participant painted serpentine lines on their faces and bodies with urucú, while the third one rubbed himself all over with soot. Then they all three blew snuff-powder into each other's noses and in a few minutes they were in a state of ecstasy in which they leaped wildly about the sick woman lying in her hammock, shouted loudly, and gesticulated. Then, however, the cure followed very definite directions. The man painted completely black symbolically represented the spirit of sickness -- nonexí -- whom a hostile medicine man had conjured into the body of the sick woman, and the other two men, who now identified themselves with the hekurá (see p. 200), staged a sham battle against him. At first they were armed with large sticks and beat "nonexí" in order to kill him. But he defended himself with all his might. Then he hurled arrows at him, which, however, he threw back. After that the /98/ spirit of sickness stuck a carrying basket on his head, and this suddenly fell off. At once, the other two men

/100 cont./

755 was much worse, that this time the power of the Waikâ medicine
123 men was extraordinarily great. I then proposed to him that I
179 should give Xunamî penicillin injections. After lengthy consultations with the husband and other male members of the tribe he consented, though with misgivings, and luck was with the patient as well as with me. From this moment on the name penicilina (Portuguese spelling) became a magic word, for it had helped to cast away the sickness. Hewemãõ even asked me to bring him a great deal of it on my next visit.

755 c) Magic cure (rekurâ) for Xanimâ:

Xanimâ, the approximately 47-year-old mother of
[164] Anyarawõ (see p. 126), had been ill for five days with chicken pox and had had persistently high fever. At first she, too, was
● [757] given the water cures, that is, she constantly had to take baths in the river and drink a great deal of water; as her weakness increased, she remained lying in her hammock and was doused with cold water. After that there were sham battles between two "hekurâ" and the bad, black-colored spirit of sickness, "nonexî."

When there was no improvement, Chief Hewemãõ and eight helpers again arranged a large, nocturnal rekurâ, but this time a somewhat different one, because, of course, a different
[302] sickness was involved (502). At first the men, eight with red

502. As has been mentioned above (see p. 212), every sickness has very definite texts, melodies, and dance steps.

serpentine lines painted on their faces and bodies and one colored black, in the light of the hearth, again formed a circle around the large clay plate standing in the middle, on which snuff-
[276] powder had been poured. They filled their snuff tubes with generous amounts of it and blew it into each other's noses, whereupon, after a few minutes, the state of ecstasy set in. The men hopped around their own axis several times, and, after a hissing sound on the part of the chief and with prolonged shrill

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

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789 gesture adequately expresses. The point is that the primitive has not yet clarified his ideas on the exact relationship between cause and effect, between the wish and its realization—which is to say, between will and reality, subjective and objective. Another clear proof of this lies in the attitude towards pregnancy and childbirth, which we had already noticed among Uarema's people.

789 Even the belief in amulets is one aspect of the complete naturalness of the
831 supernatural! Shirian amulets are made from the dust of a dried leaf or piece of wood, wrapped into a tiny parcel inside a banana leaf, and tied round the arm.
[832] Some of these have the power to attract love, if not quite in the same sense as the love philtres of Medieval Europe. It should be borne in mind that what we call love—for us, the cultural refinement of a physical attraction—does not exist for the Indians. For them, nothing is involved but the physiological relationship, together with the satisfaction of fulfilling an individual need, a sharing of erotic excitement and as a result, the future increase of their stock. Thus the phenomenon of 'falling in love' is not present: it is simply the taking of a man, or a woman. There is no courtship, only the act itself. In the light of this it becomes clear that what the Indian hopes for from the amulet is not success in wooing a man or a woman already known and selected, but a happy outcome of all things sexual, upon which so much depends—the woman, the family and the continuance of his race.

789 The amulet is not a 'charm' such as we imagine it: it consists simply of a
757 substance which possesses the required power by virtue of its own nature—not by virtue of our belief in it—in exactly the same way as some vegetable extracts have the power to produce diarrhoea, and others the power to stop it. As a cure for diarrhoea the Indians take something prepared from a liana, which puts a stop to the trouble and restores the system to its normal state. The virtue of this substance and the way in which it acts is no more and no less occult than in the case of the amulet worn to attract success in love. The curative pill disappears into the mouth and its effects are felt elsewhere. The relation between the two regions is no more and no less mysterious than in the case of the love amulet: the human body is just as real, just as complex and just as unknown as the external world and other human beings.

756 The medicine-man is to be found in all Shirian tribes. He is the witch-doctor
793 and the physician for all general purposes. His superior is the *lahalla*, a kind of high priest, and a very, very rare bird, who possesses wonder-working powers of an unheard-of degree of effectiveness. Uarema assured me that the *lahalla* at

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

SHAMANS The nature of the relationship between man and spirit is largely one of hostility. The shamans, by and large, spend most of their time casting charms on enemies and enjoining their own personal demons to prevent harm from befalling the local people. Magic and curing are intimately bound up in shamanism, the practitioner devoting his efforts alternatively to causing and curing sickness.

The demons that the shamans contact are *bekura*, very tiny humanoid beings that dwell on rocks and mountains. Particularly successful shamans can control these demons to such an extent that the *bekura* will come and live inside the chest of the shaman. Each shaman solicits the aid of numerous *bekura* and attempts to lure them into his body.

Men who want to become shamans (*shabori*) go through a simple rite of fasting and chastity. They sit before their houses, use only a few trails, eat very little, and spend most of their time in a contemplative stupor brought about by hunger and drugs. After several days of this, the initiate has entered the world of the *shabori*, and can practice his skill. Each village has as many *shabori* as there are men who wish to enter this status: probably half of the men in each village are shamans.

Rerebawä told me that he was going to become a *shabori*, as he enjoyed taking the drugs and making contact with the spirit world. He decided to do this because his wife is still nursing their youngest child so that he cannot have sexual relationships with her anyway; the obligatory chastity associated with becoming a shaman will not be as difficult now as it would be when his wife weans the child. No *bekura* will dwell in the chest of a novice *shabori* who continues to have sexual relationships. After the practitioner has captured the *bekura* and they become acquainted with him, they will stay in his chest after he resumes his sexual activities.

Contact with the *bekura* is achieved by taking drugs. Particularly adept *shabori* can contact their *bekura* with only a pinch of drug, which they inhale directly from their fingers. Most of them, however, take a large dose of the drug by means of the hollow blowing tube. The *shabori* then prances back and forth in front of his house and chants to the demons he attempts to control, enjoining them to descend on enemies and cause them sickness (see Fig. 2-9). If he is curing someone, he chants before the house of the patient, rubs him, massages him, and draws the evil spirit causing the sickness to some extremity, such as an arm or leg. Then he sucks or pulls the spirit out and carries it away from the sick person, either vomiting it out or throwing it away, depending on how he extracted it originally. The Yąnomamö do not employ medicines made from plants or animals. Consequently, they rely exclusively on the cures that the *shabori* effect, fighting supernatural ills with supernatural medicine.

One of the surprises of my field experience was that I had to spend a great deal of time curing the sick, and my medicines were always in demand. The sick people, however, always took their illnesses to the *shabori* after I had treated them—one cannot be too careful.

CONCLUSION In summary, the Yąnomamö have effected an adaptation to their three environments. This is not to say that other means and techniques could not do the job equally well; but the peculiar combination of technology, social organization, and cosmology found among the Yąnomamö distinguishes them as a group from all other tribes. Although their technology is primitive, it permits them to exploit their jungle habitat sufficiently well to provide them with the wherewithal of physical comfort. The nature of their economy—slash-and-burn agriculture—coupled with the fact that they